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Worth is especially interesting from his connection with the Peace movement in North Carolina. He supported Holden in the movement which in 1863 returned five Peace men to the Confederate Congress, and which in the following year caused apprehension that it might carry the state and take it out of the Confederate control. He declared in his correspondence that the old union would be better than two separate governments, but he thought that a vast free negro population would make a "country unfit to live in". Although a supporter of Holden he was by temperament less radical and went against him in 1865, when Holden was trying to guide the state through the first months of President Johnson's reconstruction. He was accepted as the opposition candidate and carried the autumn election. As governor for two years it devolved on him to recommend many pardons and to be a mediator between the state and the Washington authorities. His correspondence at this time is exceedingly interesting.

Governor Worth's letters are the most important collection of documents published in North Carolina since the completion of the large but still unindexed *Colonial and State Records*. They have found a good editor in Professor Hamilton, and it would be a neglect of duty not to commend the good judgment of the North Carolina Historical Commission who in this worthy work continue the service to history which was so eminently shown in their publication of Professor Coon's *Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina*.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

A Political History of the State of New York. By DEALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER, A.M., LL.D. Volume III., 1861-1882. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1909. Pp. iv, 561.)

THE political history of the Empire State has seldom lacked life, color, and dramatic interest. The singular prominence of the City and the easily fluctuating majorities in the state have naturally concentrated attention upon New York politicians and their doings. Of this public regard they have not been unmindful. And so it has happened that, while the political history of the state has not been free from the battles of the office-hunting kites and crows, there has always been much striving of a nobler sort, and New York political leaders have readily transferred their parts to the larger national arena. In the last forty-five years the Democratic party, the party of opposition, has nominated for the presidency only two men who were not New York leaders, and the Republican party has given second place on its national ticket to a New York candidate in six out of eleven elections. Probably the most exciting episodes in the whole story lie within the two decades that form the horizons of Representative Alexander's third volume.

During the Civil War there was no other statesman anywhere in the North, faithful to the traditions of the Democratic party, who could

compare in ability and character with Horatio Seymour. He alone maintained the succession of Van Buren, Marcy, and Wright, and transmitted it to his loyal follower, Tilden, the last heir of the old Democratic Bourbon régime.

Seymour was the only Democratic leader in whom Lincoln's sagacious eye discerned the possibility of successful leadership. He said to Weed, "Governor Seymour has greater power just now for good than any other man in the country. He can wheel the Democratic party into line, put down rebellion, and preserve the government. Tell him for me that if he will render this service for his country, I shall cheerfully make way for him as my successor."

Within the Republican party the radical antagonism to the more cautious policies of Lincoln and Seward found its most vigorous and influential advocate in the editor of that party oracle, *The Tribune*. The deep lying differences between Greeley and Weed, and the left and right wings of Republicanism which they respectively commanded, differences which, despite superficial similarities, were real differences of ideals, nourished that furious ambition which finally brought Greeley to the presidential campaign of 1872, and to his grave. The rage of the factional contest over Johnson's policies had already extinguished Greeley's old enemy, Seward. When in 1868 Andrew D. White and Ezra Cornell were arranging a programme for the annual commencement of Cornell University, President White suggested that Secretary Seward be invited to deliver the address. Mr. Cornell replied, "Perhaps you are right, but if you call him you will show to our students the deadest man that ain't buried in the State of New York."

Even more absorbing, though better known, is the tale of the rise of Tweed's Tammany to power within the Democracy, to the day when Tweed named the city government, controlled judges, made John T. Hoffman governor by fraud, bought a legislative majority, and owned Democratic state conventions. Then follows the story of the struggles out of which gradually emerged the subtle Tilden, as the conservative champion of reform and the foe of Tammany Hall. Here is revealed Tilden the opportunist, the willing co-laborer with Tweed until after the latter's thefts were exposed, the enemy of the Canal Ring after other men had made it notorious, the promoter of economies which others had made possible, the advocate of reform who was besmirched by the "cipher" disclosures, a shrewd adviser but a hesitant and time-serving politician. This chapter of New York Democratic politics culminates at Washington in the most uncertain presidential election the nation ever knew, and, later, at home in the fierce revenges of Kelly and Tammany upon Tilden and his friends.

Side by side with this Democratic rivalry runs what was afterwards known as the Stalwart-Halfbreed feud in the Republican party, with the mantles of Seward and Weed falling upon Conkling, and those of Greeley and Fenton upon the friends of Blaine. These two decades

saw the rise and fall of Conkling, a masterful leader, a man of colossal egotism, violent temper, and magnificent energy. That chapter of New York Republican politics culminates also at Washington with the resignation and subsequent final downfall of Conkling, the murder of Garfield, and the wreck of his administration.

Mr. Alexander describes at length the concluding events in the political career of Roscoe Conkling. Of the circumstances attending the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, he gives what is evidently the version of General Stewart L. Woodford, and it will undoubtedly win acceptance.

Our author gives Senator Depew's account of the first election of Thomas C. Platt to the Senate in 1881, as the compromise candidate of the friends of Governor Cornell and the Independents.

Gentlemen who supported Thomas C. Platt in order to split the machine were indeed deceived. Mr. Alexander accepts apparently without question Mr. Platt's recent assertion that the dramatic resignation of the two senators and their appeal to the New York legislature was his policy in which Conkling meekly followed him. It may be true, but it needs other confirmation than the unsupported word of this veteran hero of intrigues. Such a tale comports with no known quality of Roscoe Conkling.

The author is always generous in his treatment of Platt. Nevertheless his tendency to amiability does not lead him to try to hide the insidious working of the "spoils" poison in party management, the worst curse of all our local politics. His narrative does justice to the defects as well as to the strength of Conkling, who might be called the heroic figure of the volume.

It is evident that Mr. Alexander has written this book with enjoyment. It is pleasant to note the easy narrative and intimate touch of the eye-witness and personal acquaintance. The story is well told and is nowhere dull. Nor can the story be found elsewhere within a single pair of covers. The rise and fall of the Tweed gang and the history of Tammany Hall have been variously described, but the bulk of this subject must be searched out in archives, memoirs, letters, reminiscences, and newspaper-files. It would not be just to say that the author has mastered all these available sources, or even the major part of them. He has used the files of three or four New York City journals, but there is little perception of newspaper influence or even of political activity anywhere outside of the metropolis and the state capital. Even such a metropolitan editor and political force as Charles A. Dana is not mentioned often enough to give him a place in the index. The local political organizations outside of New York City are virtually ignored. The reader of this volume would scarcely suspect the existence of political centres in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Troy, or even in Brooklyn. The semi-obscure influences that, like the Canal Ring, controlled political actions, come into Mr. Alexander's lime-light only if they strongly affected men and issues of national importance. The result is that we

have a brilliant review of party conventions and of local and national election-periods throughout twenty-one years, while the intervals are occupied by brief interesting analyses of a multitude of leaders, Morgan, Depew, Seymour, Fenton, Tweed, Hoffman, Greeley, Tilden, Folger, Conkling, Cornell, Platt, Curtis, Hill, Arthur, Manning, and many others. There is a good index which covers the three volumes thus far published. A few evidences of hasty proof-reading appear. Judge Charles J. Folger is introduced in the text as "Charles A." and the index makes him "Charles G." Also throughout the volume the Havemeyers are called "Havermeyer".

Diplomatic Memoirs. By JOHN W. FOSTER. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. 333; 339.)

COMPLAINT is often made that under the usages of our government there is no prolonged diplomatic career open even to a man by nature thoroughly fitted for it. If that is the rule, a striking exception to it is furnished by these *Memoirs*.

Mr. Foster, bred a lawyer, served as an officer with Indiana troops through the Civil War. In 1872 he was appointed, though not at his own request but at the instance of Senator Morton, minister to Mexico, where he served seven years. He represented us twice in Russia, once as minister and once as ambassador extraordinary on a special mission, and twice in Spain. He was afterwards offered by President McKinley first the mission to Turkey and then that to Spain, but declined both offers.

Moreover, he was Secretary of State in the last months of Harrison's administration. Prior to that he was employed by Secretary Blaine during his illness to assist in the reciprocity negotiations with foreign powers under the McKinley tariff.

He was the agent of our government in the Bering Sea Arbitration and in the Alaskan Boundary Arbitration and prepared the case to be submitted to each of the international tribunals. He was a member of the Anglo-American commission which attempted in 1898-1899 to settle the difficulties between us and Canada. He took an active part in securing the annexation of Hawaii.

He was called to Japan to aid Li Hung Chang in negotiating the treaty which closed the war between China and Japan in 1895. He was also appointed to represent China at the First Hague Conference.

Mr. Foster's residence in Mexico covered the period of Lerdo's presidency and the triumph by force of arms of Diaz. He says "During my seven years' residence in Mexico I often visited the polling places on election days, but I never saw a citizen deposit a ballot and rarely did I find any person at the polls besides the election officers." He was in St. Petersburg at the time of the assassination of Alexander II. and in Spain in the troublous times of Alfonso XII.